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LOWELL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF LOWELL, MA: MAKING, REMAKING, AND REMAKING AGAIN

INFORMANT: JANINA KOUROPOLOUS [LITHUANIA] INTERVIEWER: CRAIG THOMAS AND BOB FORRANT

DATE: MARCH 15, 2008

C = CRAIG J = JANINA B = BOB

Tape 08.18

C: Can you just say your name?

J: Nina Kouropolous.

C: And to start off would you maybe discuss how you ended up coming to Lowell? Where you started, what age you were, what you remember about it – however you want to tell it.

J: Well, it was March 1954, and we came to Lowell because my mother's aunt lived here.

C: Okay.

J: She immigrated in the early 1900s, so she was here and she made some necessary papers and that's why we came to Lowell.

C: For the paper manufacturing you mean?

B: No, papers, legal papers right?

J: She made a paper to invite us here and this is how we came to Lowell.

B: So who did you come with?

- J: I came with my mother and father; I was eighteen years old. We came by way of England where we lived for five years. Before that we lived in Germany for five years, so it was like ten years of traveling until we finally hit home.
- C: Where did you stop in England?
- J: Where?
- C: Yeah where did you stop for five years in England?
- J: Well my father, see we were in the British Occupied Zone in Germany, some time later my father, could immigrate to England because he was in the British Zone. So, he came to England first, then after a short while, when he started working, he brought us to England too. We stayed in England for five years and in the meantime we were trying to immigrate to the United States and it was very hard, it took us five years to get here because we had to go by way of the immigration and our Lithuanian quota was very small. So, it was only a few a year that were allowed, so it took us five years for our family to reach time to come. So this is how we came. We had to go through all kinds of screening, medical, political; they didn't want any Communists in this country at the time, so this is what they were against and they were looking for different things we belonged [to], organizations, whatever. I mean we ran away from the Communists, so we did not belong to anything, this is why we left.
- B: So you left Lithuania just before WWII?
- J: In '44, just before they took over Lithuania.
- B: Okay, so just before the Soviet Union moved into Lithuania you ended up in Germany?
- J: Yes, we ended up going go to the border and stayed there until things cleared up, but they never did. They took over the country so we couldn't get back.
- B: So, you were lucky in a way to end up in Berlin on the western side.
- J: We ended up in the English zone, yeah.
- B: Because there was Soviet zone as well.
- J: Yes, some of the Lithuanians ended up in the American zone. They could immigrate right away to the United States and we had to go by way of England so it took us longer to get here than it did them.
- C: Even though you were young at the time, you were still fully screened like your parents?
- J: Yes, I had to do all the papers. I was like sixteen. I was a teenager and I had to travel with my father to the consulate all the time and be the interpreter.

- B: Because you knew English?

 J: I knew some English, yes.

 B: From school or you just picked it up?

 J: From school in England.

 B: Okay.

 J: And in Germany before that I took some English too, so I had extra English that I took in Germany. So, I was pretty good.

 C: So, what do you remember from when you first came to Lowell? What were your impressions of living here and adapting to a new life?

 J: Well, it wasn't like a very rich start. My mother and father worked in the mills of Lowell.

 C: Do you remember which ones?

 J: My father worked...I don't know which one he worked... Southwell first and then he worked
 - B: Did they find jobs right away when they got here? Do you remember?

for Pellon and Company. He worked there until he retired. But my mother worked in different

- J: Yes, because that was the specification on that paper that my aunt made.
- B: Oh, that there were jobs.
- J: That they would provide my father some job.

mills. And of course I went to art school.

- B: Okay, so your aunt that was here had contacts.
- J: Yes, her husband.
- B: Did she work in the mill?
- J: No, her husband did.
- B: Oh, okay.
- J: And he was the foreman and he got my father the job in the mill. So that's where he started.
- B: Interesting.

- J: My mother got her job by herself, but my father was the main thing.
- C: Did he have the exact job lined up? Did the foreman have to sign the papers or did they just say there were jobs?
- J: No, they just said they would help provide the job, that's all I think that it said. I never saw that paper.
- B: But otherwise you think that you and your family, you and your mom and dad would not have been able to get in without there being a job waiting? Was that part of the rules?
- J: No, no I don't think so.
- B: When you first got here, where did you live? Did you live with your aunt's family, or did they find a place for you?
- J: Oh, no, no we found an apartment for ourselves.
- B: Near them?
- J: No.
- C: Were there other Lithuanians living around you at the time?
- J: No
- C: But when you moved, did you move into an area where there were other Lithuanians families, a Lithuanian community?
- J: Yes, there was the church, there was a club there. It was all thriving and there were quite a few Lithuanian people here.
- C: So, you moved near to here, where we are right now?
- J: Yes, my parents lived in Lowell until they left for Florida.
- C: No, I mean, but this neighborhood within Lowell.
- J: Yes, yes, right up the street. They lived in Florida until my father died. My mother stayed until she got too old to be alone. The last few years she spent with us.
- B: So when you got here, you were already a teenager and had lived in Germany for a while and then you lived in England for a while and then you end up in Lowell. So, when you end up in Lowell, how does that compare in your mind with having lived in England or? What did you think about Lowell when you got here?

- J: I think the young people are much more able to adjust than the older ones, and I had no problems living in Germany, or adjusting, just the language, but when you're young you pick it up. I picked up German, I went to a German girl to learn English, so I had to have some German.
- B: So you learned English with a German accent!
- J: So there I was going to a German to take English because we knew we were going to go to England and I didn't have enough English, so I took extra lessons from her. She was a police interpreter, so she was able to teach me.
- C: When you told us that you moved here and there was the church and the club, could you tell us more about the Lithuanian community that was here when you moved in?
- J: Well, we all got baptized, christened, and wedded at the same church. I mean we were all in that community.
- C: What church was that? Where was it?
- J: It was St. Josephs Lithuanian Church, which is of course an apartment house now. They took it away from us.
- C: Did you feel there was an extended network of people that you could talk to or call on to get things done, to get help, that the Lithuanians would help with babysitting may-be, or may-be communicating between each other to get help get things accomplished?
- J: No, just socially more or less, there was nothing personal that we needed.
- B: So, by social you mean like at Christmas time people would have a Lithuanian style Christmas party with food or music, those sorts of things?
- J: Right.
- C: Food's a good one though. How did you find adapting to the food? When I was here before they had that drip cake where they take the spit and they drip it. What else?
- J: It is sometimes called the tree cake.
- C: Yeah, that was great. So, how did that translate when you came over? Did your mom and dad cook Lithuanian food?
- J: My mother cooked Lithuanian, yes.
- C: So, what does that mean?
- J: Well, she cooked the way she cooked all her life you know, she didn't change much.

- C: It must have been tough to get the ingredients.
- J: Oh, it's the same ingredients; it's just the different things you do with it.
- B: So did they, your mom and dad, did they learn English right away? Did they still speak, you know.
- J: They still spoke a lot of Lithuanian.
- B: At home?
- J: At home, and in the club and in the church and wherever.
- B: So the mass was in Lithuanian?
- J: Yes.
- B: Not Latin?
- J: No, at first it was.
- B: In Latin?
- J: Yes, oh yes.
- B: Oh yeah, cuz that was the rule then for a while right?
- J: Yes, and then it changed over the years.
- B: Uh-huh. But then it went to Lithuanian. Uh-huh.
- J: Right.
- C: Were you really excited about that or it didn't really matter one way or the other?
- J: It didn't matter. I did like the Latin, it felt more mystical, more....I don't know. It felt different, Latin.
- B: Especially the big, high, holiday masses when there were singing in Latin and everything, right?
- J: Yes, I belonged to the choir in England, we sang in the church too and we sang a lot in Latin.
- B: So, you were...I think, I forget, may-be I'm wrong...you were seven, eighteen when you came here?

- J: I was eighteen when I came here. I was just eighteen in December and we came in March.
- B: So, did you go to school when you got here, or what happened with all that?
- J: I went to finish my art school.
- B: Art school?
- J: Yes, I started in England, I went to the Regional College of Art in Bradford, and I didn't quite finish, I was in my third year when our time came to come here.
- B: And you couldn't say, "Wait a minute, I wanna finish!"
- J: Also, I left without any paper, or anything. So, when I got here, I went to Boston and I picked a school again, and I picked a small school, Vesper George, it's gone now, and I finished one year there. I got a degree there.
- B: So, did you live in Boston, or did you commute to Boston every day?
- J: Oh, no, I commuted every day.
- B: On the train?
- J: The train, car, any way. My parents wouldn't allow me to live in Boston.
- B: That's what I wish I could have done with my own daughter, but it didn't work out that way!
- J: My parents didn't allow me to get a job anywhere then around here when I finished.
- B: Were they concerned about you going to school in Boston? Did they try to say may-be you shouldn't do that?
- J: Well, they had to because there wasn't anything in Lowell.
- B: Okay, so you had them over a barrel a little bit then.
- J: Yes, and since it was for one year...
- B: So, the train was called the Boston & Maine railroad then right?
- J: I don't remember that.
- B: Was it from over here where the train station is now?
- J: Yes, and I lived across the common and could just walk right over to the train.

- C: You said that when you finished your year and you came back that your parents wouldn't let you get a job?
- J: They wouldn't let me go to Boston for a job or New York where I could have made better. There were better jobs.
- C: So, what did you end up doing here?
- J: I got a job at a department store, at Pollards, downtown, and I took care of the advertising department.
- C: So, you got to use some of your artistic talent to design it?
- J: I did, I designed everything in the store, from brochures, to all the ads that they ran in the newspapers and magazines and whatever. I did the whole thing. I was a one-man department! I did the artwork, the layouts, everything.
- B: Did you do the windows in the store and those things as well?
- J: No, those were the window dresser's job.
- B: Somebody else did that?
- J: Uh-huh.
- C: And how long were you there?
- J: Well, I was there til I was married, til I had my first baby. Then I came back on and off, but it wasn't full-time. I stayed home with the kids.
- B: My mother worked until I was born, since I was the first one born, and then she didn't work anymore until the last kid, five of them, the last one was in school, then she went back to work part-time. That was a pretty normal thing to do right?
- J: A normal thing to stay home for your children, yes. Which is a good thing, I still believe in that.
- B: We were talking earlier and you married somebody who's Greek, obviously.
- J: Half Greek, half Lithuanian. His mother was Lithuanian.
- B: So, your children become half Greek?
- J: Well, they consider themselves Lithuanian.
- B: They consider themselves Lithuanian? Okay.

- J: They're three-quarters Lithuanian.
- B: So, say for Easter which is a different holiday in the Greek Orthodox Church or....
- J: Lithuanian Easter is what we kept.
- B: So, how about Christmas time, the same thing?
- J: Yes, the same.
- B: Were there arguments about it, or is it just the way it was?
- J: Oh, no, no. He prefers...we've been to Lithuania eight times and he went with me every time, he loves it there. He loves my relatives and all that.
- B: No conflicts over keeping traditions?
- J: No, because he was brought up Lithuanian more than Greek.
- C: Did he come over as well, or was he born here?
- J: Oh no, he was born here, but his grandmother came over from Lithuania way back when. She was not part of the later immigrants like we were, she was way back, 1904 may-be. I don't know when that was, sometime early like my aunt.
- B: Before WWI.
- C: It was easier then, I believe, to get into this country.
- J: Something bad there happened, the Tsar was ruling or something and they had a hard time on the farms or something.
- B: Yeah, a lot of people could leave. There were less quotas. The quotas come in the 1920s since then only certain groups could come in. So, how about your children when...
- J: My child.
- B: Your child, sorry.
- J: I had children, but I only have a child, one died.
- B: Oh, sorry, okay.
- J: I lost one.

- B: Did they when they were younger celebrate or want to know the traditions?
- J: Oh, yes. They still are. My boy's fifty years old and he still wants Easter with the egg roll and all that stuff.
- C: The egg roll, what's that?

Janina; His son loves it you know, so we do it for him.

- B: So, Grandma keeps the traditions alive?
- J: Right, right.
- C: So, what's the egg roll, I don't know what that is.
- J: Well, you have eggs that you color nicely which is Lithuanian tradition, and hard boiled. So you have a little thing.
- C: Like a tube or a chute?
- J: Yes, something curved that the egg would go down and roll onto the floor, and each kid rolls it down, and you have to try to hit that egg that's already down there. And if you do it's your egg and you take it.
- B: So, are you trying to collect all the decorated eggs?
- J: Yes, you're trying to collect as many eggs as you can.
- B: Huh, that's a new one on me!
- J: Then there's the egg breaking where one holds the egg with barely a little thing showing and the other takes the egg and slaps it, and if that egg breaks, it's his.
- C: That's what we always did in my family. It was a Polish thing I thought.
- J: They go home with a basket full of eggs some of them.
- B: All hard boiled.
- J: Yes.
- B: You have to like hard boiled eggs though.
- J: They have egg salad after!
- B: Egg salad sandwiches.

- J: We color with natural colorings.... Same with Christmas, it's the Christmas tree...you know, the whole thing, presents...We were all Americanized.
- B: Yeah, but.....
- J: But still our traditions.
- B: Right. I grew up with all sorts of Irish, French Canadian, and Italian, and Italian was the dominant one, so for Christmas Eve we did a typical Italian feast which was a lot of fish and...
- J: We'd have a lot of fish on Christmas Eve, too.
- B: Oh, okay, same thing.
- J: To us Christmas Day is not as important as Christmas Eve; Christmas Eve is the main thing.
- B: Yeah, and it always was in my family, that's when you would have a big thing with all the family and everybody came. There were twelve different fish dishes or something...
- J: Yes, well it's not all fish, it's all kinds of other dishes that don't involve meat at all, so there's a variety of stuff that you do besides fish, and herring. We would enter the herring business.
- C: Now how did you really communicate your sense of being Lithuanian to your child? Did you speak Lithuanian at home? Did you read fairy tales or old stories?
- J: Oh, yes, they heard us speaking with grandma all the time and grandpa. They spoke Lithuanian all the time, so they were used to hearing the language.
- C: So they could speak it pretty well?
- J: Well, my oldest one used to speak it when he was little because I used to leave him there because of my job and so he learned from grandma. But the second one never did because I didn't work when he was born so he didn't know that much Lithuanian although from having it all the time, he knew what we were talking about and say a few words.
- B: Do you think it's important for people to learn and keep those sorts of traditions from the old country or wherever they...why do you?
- J: Well, I wish my children had the school, the Lithuanian school that a lot of them had in Boston. The Boston kids still have Lithuanian school on Saturday.
- B: To this day?
- J: Yes, because they have newcomers now.

- B: Coming from Lithuania?
- J: Yes, and they have school so they might not forget.
- B: So, that was never here in Lowell?
- J: They didn't have it. My husband worked all kinds of funny hours at night; I couldn't travel by myself with my kids to Boston. I was afraid. So, I didn't take them to Boston, it was too far for me. But, I wish I had had school for them because it is nice to know more languages.
- B: I know there were some parochial schools in Lowell that were affiliated with churches that were in different neighborhoods where there was the French church or the Greek church.
- J: The French people were always bigger and the Greeks were always bigger than the Lithuanians, there were more of them here so, they had schools, yes.
- B: So, it was just easier with more people financially to have the schools probably.
- J: Yes, it was easier for them to get together on Saturday for their kids.
- B: So, what you were saying before about the Lithuanian church and then the Catholic diocese closed the church or something?
- J: They closed our church, they closed all the surrounding Lithuanian churches.... So it's hard for the people.
- B: Uh-huh. So what was the reason given for closing the church?
- J: The reason was that it was run-down which it was not. We had money in the bank.
- B: But that's the reason they gave?
- J: Yes.
- B: So is it because the parish is getting smaller?
- J: No, we were integrated. Our church was not just full of Lithuanians because it was all the neighborhood. By that time it was all in English. But the bigger churches tried to take over the smaller ones. The people were told to go to Immaculate which most people did not, so...
- B: They didn't want to go where they were told to go. Did you go to St. Michaels, or across the bridge?
- J: No, I live in Chelmsford so I don't have to go to Immaculate, but I do like the Shrine downtown and that's where we go.

- C: St. Patricks?
- J: St. Josephs, right in back there's a beautiful shrine, so we like it there.
- C: Do you think the Lithuanian community had a voice in city affairs, not just with the church, but with the city council and the policies of the city?
- J: I don't know that they were that interested in the politics of the city. Some of them probably were, but I know my family wasn't. I 'm not sure about the ones that were born here, they may have been more interested. We worried about jobs and ...
- B: Food on the table!
- J: Yes! It wasn't as easy at first.
- B: When you said before that your husband worked all kinds of crazy hours...
- J: Yes, he worked at Pollards on the weekend.
- B: On top of the regular hours during the week?
- J: Yes, and that's why it was so hard for me. I couldn't go to Boston alone, I couldn't take the chance of going alone.
- B: Did you remember or experience when the mills in Lowell were starting to lay people off and close? Did it affect your family in any way or any of the other folks you knew in Lowell?
- J: I'm pretty sure it affected them a little but they were retiring soon.
- B: But your husband was never laid off or anything?
- J: My husband never was because he was in the store business, so when Pollards closed, he was asked to work in three different places, so he had a choice to make which place he wanted to work for. So, he chose Ippolitos in Lawrence and he worked there for twenty years. He wasn't much on switching jobs, he had two jobs his whole life!
- B: My father was a meat cutter at the A & P and he worked there all his life, one job. That was the norm, I think, in those days.
- J: Well, I don't know, I think sometimes the people are more ...I can't think of the word.... At Pollards there was a family affair there. We used to have parties with the owner, with everybody, so you got close and were just patriotic to them I guess. What is the word?
- B: Loyal.

- J: Loyal, that's what I'm looking for! The workers, they were really loyal to the places where they worked.
- B: Not like Pheasant Lane Mall, right?
- J: Well, no but even so I think that in the old days they were more loyal. Now they skip jobs every which where. That's what I saw, I might be wrong, but that's the feeling I got.
- B: No, I think, my father always talked about if you get a good job than that's the job you want to keep and that was a pretty ingrained thing in his mind. Coming through the Depression and everything associated with it.... When you were raising your children were you thinking about for them something different? College, was that something that was on your mind, like we need to save money for them?
- J: Of course.
- B: Could you talk about that a little bit?
- J: I had high dreams. I had big hopes my first would start at college, he dropped out after a year and he never went back. He went to work for Wang for a while and he got laid off on the first lay-off of Wang and it was a very unfair lay-off and he was very disappointed in life and he said he would never work for anybody again in his life, so he has his own business.
- B: He can't get laid off.
- J: He's a lot like me and he's very loyal and he just couldn't see that lay-off and he was very disappointed in that.
- B: So, what kind of business does he have?
- J: He's in excavation. He's got a lot of big equipment and he does a lot of excavation work.
- B: For home construction?
- J: For home construction...anything. And he has plows, and he does a lot of plowing in Worcester in the winter with his big equipment.
- B: The hills of Worcester.
- J: Yes.
- B: Not a fun place to plow I would bet.
- J: Well, it's where the big snows are all the time so that's where he plows. My second one did finish finally, he finished college and he dies a year later. He never got a job.

- B: What did he study?
- J: He studied biology. He started with marine biology.
- B: That's what I wanted my daughter to do, so she would live by the ocean!
- J: Marine biology in Rhode Island, he went to school there. Roger Williams, he was doing terrific, he was on the Dean's list, we were all happy. I think somebody talked him out of it, so he switched his major, quit the school and went to Northeastern.
- B: Oh, that's where I went.
- J: Yes, it was straight biology. He was a lifetime student. But he finally graduated.
- B: That's where I went to college because that was the only place I could afford to go because of the coop they had then.
- J: Well, we could hardly afford it because it was getting very high. Toward the end, it was like \$5,000 a semester or something and that's not books, not parking, not anything. And he wasn't even living there, he was commuting. It was very high, but I did have hopes you see and they don't always work out.
- B: Nope, you do the best you can right, when you have kids.
- J: But the biggest shock was when he died. I mean we had him one day and the next he was gone. He wasn't sick or anything, so it was very bad for us. He had a brain cyst and it just went. He was just brain dead; that was it.
- B: Really hard.
- J: It was very hard and it still is.
- B: No doubt.
- J: It's been almost twelve years... in May. He was thirty-four. Not married.
- B: Parents worse fear, right?
- J: Well I have no grandchildren or daughter-in-law from his side. You lose more than just a son you lose the whole family, grandchildren, everything.
- C: You haven't encouraged your son who does excavation to get married?
- J: Oh, he's married. I have two grandsons, one of course is in a wheelchair, he's not well and he has a terrible syndrome that his parents passed down to him, but the second one, thank god, is

healthy. So, we have one that's doing real well, but Matthew of course is a loveable kid but he's not well. He goes to Crotched Mountain School, N.H.

- B: Sure, I know all about that place... So, is coming here today for the St. Patrick's party and things like that, is that part of keeping for you a bigger family or what? Obviously, some people don't come...
- J: It's keeping a little family together, there's only nine, ten of us now, girls, and we're trying to keep this little auxiliary which is not an auxiliary anymore because there's only a few members, but we're just trying to keep it. So we can get together and little things like that.
- B: Okay, so say fifteen years ago or twenty years ago would there have been a lot more members?
- J: Yes, but they got older and they died off. I mean when my mother was alive, it was thriving, because there was a lot of them here. But then they move away, go in different directions.
- B: And a lot of times the kids move away from where their parents brought them up.
- J: Well, the members we have now, their children don't belong to the club. They don't patronize it.
- B: What does it mean to belong when you say belong?
- J: Well, my husband is a member of the club...he belongs.
- B: Do you pay a membership?
- J: Yes, he does pay very little membership here.
- B: Just to keep the building up?
- J: Yes. But our girls had a big auxiliary here since, we are not members of the club, we had an auxiliary because we have to work together anyway, but we have very few left.
- B: Did anyone try to get it so that women could be full members?
- J: No, we're not even trying. We don't even want to.
- B: Not worth it/ More important things to do?
- J: Right.
- C: There have got to be a lot of festivals that come out of here. I went to the Lithuanian flag raising at City Hall...

- J: Yes, that's about all we have now is that one in February which I worked in the kitchen and didn't even go down to raise the flag this year, but I was in the kitchen because the girls in the kitchen got too old, one had a heart attack, one is in the nursing home... we do the St. Patrick's thing here... There is very little we do now.
- C: Were there other festivals before?
- J: We used to have dances up there like Halloween or some masquerade balls upstairs and different things, weddings...but now there are hardly any weddings or parties.
- C: I wanted to go back to something you said a little while ago that I wrote down and wanted to follow up with. You said that since you've lived in the U.S. you've been back to Lithuania eight times.
- J: Yes.
- C: How have you seen a change in what you may have remembered growing up? I don't remember much about growing up but I'm still pretty young.
- J: I don't remember too much growing up in Lithuania. I only remember little things like my brother dying. I remember when we left Lithuania, the trip. I remember namesday parties, the last one was a big to-do, St. John the Baptist day, 24th of June. St. John's day is a very big feast in Lithuania. And of course they throw a big party for all the Johns that are there. Where my father worked, the whole circle, they had a huge party. It was like somebody knew we weren't going to be around anymore, okay? It was a big party. They threw another little party for the kids, there was little John and Janina, my name's day is on the same day as St. John, so the kids had a separate party and the grown-ups had a separate party and that's what I remember. I remember going to school, kindergarten. I was just starting my second grade; you start your first grade at seven, so it's different. First Communion....
- C: But do you remember seeing changes in the country when you went back and forth over time?
- J: In '88 was the first time we went and it was still kinda Russian. They couldn't speak, they went outside to talk, in the hotel we couldn't speak. We couldn't go anywhere actually, so we couldn't go visit all our relatives. It was still restricted, but after that it was better, nobody followed us, nobody went with us, nobody did anything we didn't want. You didn't see so many guys with guns walking in airports and stuff as you did in '88.... They were all over the place. The nicest thing that's happened is they're restoring it and it is beautiful, beautiful. And I've gone to two dance and song festivals and you should see those festivals. One whole huge stadium is just for dancing day, and that day you have tickets to go there. Next day is for the song festival, big festival, you know, and just songs. There are folks, craftspeople in the park doing all kinds of things, baskets, woodcarvings...they're all there from all Lithuania. From all the villages, all the people gather there. So, you go through that and you buy things from them. But the city itself, the capital, is getting really fixed up. They've remodeled one whole huge street...beautiful, beautiful.

B: So, do you time your visits when you go with the music and dance festival?

J: We did time it those two times, but now we won't because we've seen it twice, so we figure, well, it's the same thing...We still need rides all over the place, so we have to depend on my cousins to do that.

B: Here in Lowell when they have the folk festival I noticed a lot times they have music from lots of different countries. Have they done things in the folk festival that you know of where they brought in Lithuanian musicians?

J: Well, they used to. We used to belong to the folk festival, but now there isn't enough of us to belong anymore, and it's getting so that they're charging us so much money to be in it that we can't afford it.

B: Like you could have a food stand and things like that as well right?

J: Yes, a food stand we have to pay for so we can't afford it. It used to be free and there were more of us, because you have to cook a heck of a lot for a festival.

B: Yeah!

J: So we can't do it anymore because we don't have enough people and then they charge us too much. So, we dropped out of that and we don't belong to that any more, but we used to work...I had a demonstration once where I made pancakes out in the big tent.

B: So, what's different about a Lithuanian pancake?

J: Well, it's a potato pancake.

B: Oh, okay.

C: I've got to get that recipe, it sounds good.

J: Well you can come to the club sometime and have them on Saturday. They make them here, but it's not every Saturday, so you have to know which Saturday.

B: I've been in houses where Jewish people cook a potato pancake, they call it a latke. Is it like that?

J: It is. A lot of Europeans know how to make them.

B: So, it's in that tradition, but it probably has different seasonings and things.

J: Polish grate some onion in it, and Lithuanians don't.

- B: What's the Lithuanian word for it? For that pancake?
- J: Oh, for pancake? Bulviniai Blynai.
- B: Alright, so not a latke.
- C: Well, we're getting down to the end and asked you a lot of questions. Is there anything that we missed, that you want to tell us to help us get a sense of your story and your history?
- J: Well, my cousins keep asking me why don't you come and live there?
- B: Move back?
- J: Yes. And I feel like this is my home. I've been here the longest, 54 years, in Lithuania only eight years. Its here where my son and parents are buried and its here where my living son lives, you just don't leave that.
- B: Thank you very much.